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Notes on NSC Meeting of 12 September 1954 held at Denver Colonados.

M. Dulles took The attached material to This meeting 25X1A9a

SECRET

12 September 1954 CHINESE NATIONALIST FORCES ON THE QUEMOYS

- I. Regular forces . . . 51,000 troops.
 - A. This figure includes the division of reinforcements—about 9,000 troops—which arrived from Formosa on 10 September.
 - B. It includes combat units, headquarters personnel, and supply and service units.
 - C. These forces are composed of five MAAG-trained and MDAP-equipped divisions and a few units of the former Quemoys garrison which were not rotated in June.
- II. Guerrilla forces . . . 1,350 in units.
 - A. This figure probably represents a close approximation to the number of actual guerrillas still present on the Quemoys and organized into units.

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12 September 1954

CURRENT SITUATION IN THE QUEMOY ISLANDS

I. Chinese Nationalist Situation

A. Reinforcements: Chinese Nationalist troop strength on the Quemoys has been raised to an estimated 51,000 regulars by the arrival of an infantry division and a 155mm howitzer battalion from Formosa. The American military advisory group recommends that three battalions of 105mm howitzers and a battery of 40mm anti-aircraft guns be sent to the Quemoys as additional reinforcements; the 155's will enable the Nationalist to shell the entire Communist-held island of Amoy.

Nationalist guerrilla strength on the Quemoys is now believed to be about 1,350 rather than the 6,000 reported previously; almost 10,000 of the 11,000 guerrillas once present on the islands have reportedly been sent to Formosa and two small Nationalist islands to the north, Wuchiu and White Dog, guerrillas from Quemoy have also gone to Tungting island south of the Quemoys.

B. <u>Preparations for Defense</u>: Reports

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that Nationalist troops on the eastern end of the larger island are improving battle positions and extending them north and south. As of 8 September there were only a few troops in

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battle positions on the western side of the island but trenches had been completed and were camouflaged.

An "excellent" traffic control system has reportedly been established. Strong points along the coast have 81mm mortars, machine guns and other light infantry weapons. Defenses on the southern coast are reported improved. Two 50mm guns are mounted in the Liaolo Bay with field of fire toward the bay. The tank mobile reserve has been moved to the eastern slope of Taiwu mountain on the east side of the island, in order to be in position to flank any attack coming from the east or south beaches.

C. Morale: The morale of Nationalist troops on the Quemoys is said to be excellent; they are expected to fight well if properly led and if air and naval superiority obtains. The leaders themselves are reported to be highly competent young men. Civilians are said to be settled and calm.

II. Chinese Communist Situation

A. Strength: No changes have been evident in the strength of Communist troops within 150 miles of Amoy. There continue to be at least 150,000, possibly 200,000, with even the lesser figure sufficient for an attack on the Quemoys.

- B. Logistics: Following Nationalist attacks on the British freighter Inchkilda, caughi in Amoy harbor during Nationalist air raids, Hong Kong shipping circles have ordered shipping to stay away from Amoy. This means that all supplies for Amoy will have to come over poor inland roads, probably sufficient only for military supplies. Shipping had been bringing in food, lumber and fertilizer; civilian needs for the Amoy area now may not be met.
- C. Communist Preparations for Attack: Nationalist and American sources on Formosa continue to report no indications of a Communist attempt to assemble forces for an invasion of the Quemoys. Beginning with the arrival of the monsoon season in late September or early October, weather factors would favor the Communists in an attack on the Quemoys, as rough waters would restrict Nationalist capabilities for naval support of the Quemoy garrison; these weather conditions would impede a Communist attack on the Tachens or Matsus, which lie much farther from the mainland.

Sources in the Tachens area report a concentration of naval vessels in the Chushan islands, about 100 miles south of Shanghai; the Taipei press, mainly unreliable on military intelligence, says that this

concentration includes 40 Communist "warships" and 7,000 rubber rafts, some of which are to be sent to Amoy and the "coastal areas." Nationalist air reconnaissance of the Chushans on 11 September, shows no unusual activity there which might threaten Nationalist forces on the Tachen islands, only 100 miles south of the Chushans.

Sources in the Tachens area also report that on 10 September Communist MIG's were in the Pishan area 35 miles southwest of the Tachens, and that five rounds of Communist artillery hit Pishan on that date.

III. Current Clashes in the Quemoy Area

A. Nationalist air and sea Strikes: The Nationalists have been conducting air and sea attacks on the Amoy area since 5 September, and have pounded at Communist artillery and junks in and around Amoy Island. Nationalist aircraft flying these missions include PB4Y and B-25 bombers as well as both jet and piston fighters.

As of 9 September, these planes had dropped a total of 198,200 pounds of general purpose bombs and 20 napalm bombs; 190 rockets and 13,400 rounds of machine gun bullets had been fired.

On the night of 9 September, Nationalist planes ranged as far north as Shanghai and south to Canton, dropping millions of anti-Communist leaflets.

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Nationalist naval forces in the area, including at least three two destroyers and destroyer escorts, were concentrating fire on the Communist naval base at Wushu Island, about six miles south of Amoy Island, as well as on targets on Amoy.

B. Communist Activity: Communist shelling of the

Quemoys continues, but only sporadically and with

Only about 2,000 rounds have been fired at the Quemoys since
little effect. It is possible that the Nationalist

attacks have greatly reduced the number of Communist

artillery emplacements.

Sources on Quemoy say Communist loudspeakers at Amoy have broadcast pleas to the Nationalists on Quemoy to retrain from further air attacks on the city because "innocent people are being murdered."

The Hong Kong press reports that Communist officials at Swatow, a coastal city 125 miles southwest of Amoy, have ordered civilian evacuation of Swatow in preparation for an emergency, and "great numbers" of troop reinforcements are said to have been arriving there; these developments are said to have resulted from Communist fears of a Nationalist invasion of the southeast coast.

C. Nationalist Losses: Nationalist losses since
the 3 September shelling include 21 killed and
48 wounded, according to American officials at
Taipei. One Nationalist gunboat and a minelayer
have been damaged, at least one fighter plane has

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been lost and three damaged. Peiping radio, on the other hand, claims to have shot down at least seven Nationalist planes and damaged about 30 others with anti-aircraft and machine gun fire.

Nationalist fortifications on Quemoy have apparently been only slightly damaged by Communist shelling.

D. Communist Losses: The Nationalist defense ministry claims its air and sea forces have put large numbers of Communist artillery and machine gun emplacements out of operation and have destroyed close to 400 junks. The number of junks reported normally in Amoy waters is about 500. Additional junks could be brought in under cover of darkness for use as sea lift of troops, but continued Nationalist air and sea attacks might well prevent the Communist from concentrating an amphibious force.

Peiping Radio's first reaction to the air raids was to belittle them, claiming that most bombs "fell into the sea." In the past few days, however, Peiping's news reports have emphasized Nationalist bombing and strafing of civilian targets. Peiping reports approximately 100 civilians killed and alleges that large numbers of houses and other civil buildings have been destroyed in Amoy

and other villages in Fukien Province. A broadcast of 10 September notes the demand by a Fukien fisherman whose son had been wounded that Communist forces "must go to Formosa and put an end to this."

IV. Communist Statements on Intentions

A. No Mention of US Forces: As of 1000 12 September (Washington time) no Peiping broadcast had been received which had made mention of the movement of US naval and air forces into Formosa waters on 5 September and their continuing presence there. One recent broadcast, transmitting an article for troop indoctrination on the "struggle for the liberation of Formosa," stated in a summary of US actions regarding Formosa that the US "is also dispatching its naval and air forces to conduct demonstrations and provocations against China," but this broadcast did not refer specifically to the Quemoys.

Another recent broadcast discusses the Quemoys but evades the question of US forces in the area. It asserts that the US, "extremely worried" by the Communist bombardments of "bandit Chiang troops occupying our Quemoy Island," is now "stepping up its plans" for increased military aid to the Nationalists.

In contrast, a Moscow broadcast of 11 September reports that "more American planes and naval vessels have been dispatched to 'protect' the island of Taiwan....at the same time the Kuomintang bands.... are making piratical raids on China's coasts, and, as instructed by their American military masters, are bombing and strafing Chinese towns and villages.

- B. Hint Quemoy Operation Halted: Another Chinese
 Communist broadcast appears to present the bombardment
 of the Quemoys as a completed phase of a long-range
 operation against the offshore islands, and hints
 that further preparations are necessary before the
 second phase can begin. It states that the Fukienese
 populace is "enthusiastic over the triumph of the
 People's Liberation Army on the Fukien front," that
 a message has been sent to the troops" congratulating
 them on their victory," and that the people have
 pledged themselves to "greater efforts to increase
 production and to fulfill their assignments in order
 to support the People's Liberation Army for still
 greater victories."
- C. <u>Conclusions</u>: Peiping's failure to mention the presence of US forces in the Quemoy area and its hint that further preparations are necessary do not constitute

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sufficient grounds for concluding that Peiping has definitely decided to postpone the Quemoy operation. The US press, which the Chinese Communists are known to read carefully, has been reporting for days that the National Security Council would decide on 12 September whether US forces should help protect the Quemoys and other offshore islands. Peiping may well be reserving its position, pending some indication of the results of the National Security Council meeting.